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ARTICLE



# Generations, social homogamy and stratification in Finland, 1700–1910

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## ABSTRACT

This study analyses social heterogamy in western and southern Finland during the early stages of industrialisation, from 1700 to 1910. Marriage patterns are examined by comparing the social classes of spouses' parents, which can be understood as the social origin of the spouse. The rate of heterogamy within the freeholder class was only 19.8%, whereas it was 71.1% in the upper classes, 59.7% in the tenant class and 76.5% in the labour class. In addition, only roughly 20–30% of grooms whose fathers were landowners married brides from lower social classes.

Certain individual- and family-level characteristics increased the odds of a heterogamous marriage: remarrying, age difference, being an illegitimate child or a single mother, and the first marriages of those in the labour class. Regarding macro-level variables, we found that higher rates of emigration and poor-relief recipients, along with having a larger Finnish-speaking population, led to higher levels of heterogamy. Other issues increasing the odds of heterogamy included living in the more urbanised or industrialised regions and moving to different regions.

This study identified strict marriage patterns, which did not significantly change with respect to heterogamy. Nevertheless, indications exist that industrialisation and urbanisation began eroding the prevailing traditions.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

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## KEYWORDS

Social homogamy; social heterogamy; social stratification; marriage patterns; social classes; Finland; inequality

## 1. Introduction

In pre-industrial Finnish society, marriage was a crucial and strategic decision in which the family dictated who, when and with whom one married, thereby fulfilling narrow instrumental interests. It was not until the period of industrialisation that romantic notions of love became more evident in the marriage process (Heikinmäki, 1981; Moring, 1999, pp. 159–185; Kalmijn, 1998, pp. 395–421; Mäenpää, 2015). While historical studies tend to emphasise the similarity between the social and economic status of the bride and groom in marriage markets, research on the modern world highlights the extent to which individuals actively selected mates for reasons other than just shared economic or social background factors.<sup>1</sup>

Family was one of the most important social institutions of the time, and its functions were numerous. Marriage was an arrangement wherein social relations were created and

strengthened. A registered marriage and family life offered social and economic security. In addition, it officially linked two families and kin networks together. It gave a person the possibility to satisfy his/her emotional and sexual needs. In particular, it provided the space to rear and socialise children. Furthermore, different economic and social factors and interests were involved in the process: the state, the church, the local community and kin all sought to strongly control it (Moring, 1999, p. 181).

The family is fundamentally important for transmitting human and material capital, property, occupational facilities and skills, education, social networks, preferences and orientations from one generation to the next (Bertaux & Thompson, 2007, p. 1). One of the main ideas underpinning such a perspective is that the strength of a family depends on its ability to transmit material and immaterial capital from generation to generation and maintain its social and economic position (Ingram & Lifschitz, 2006; Wellman & Wetherell, 1996).

The strategic importance of marriage was especially linked to the freeholder's world, where landowning and inheritance made arranged marriages important. This was also true for the elites, who aimed to maintain and improve their social position via various marriage strategies. The lower ranks of society had insufficient resources, and thus little need to employ similar strategies. Until the late twentieth century, the majority of the Finnish population worked in agriculture and the forest industry and lived in the countryside (Alapuro, 1985). In the context of Finnish society, the notion of a special 'spirit of the land' has been used to refer to a special appreciation for owning land and the aim of keeping the land in the hands of the same family. It has been a dominant way of thinking among the freeholder class for many centuries (Silvasti, 2001).

In this article, the main research questions are as follows: (1) How much homogamy, by social background, was there in Finland between 1700 and 1910, and how did it change over time? (2) How can we explain variations in homogamy? The data for this study (the Ten Generations database) consists of over 8 000 marriages from reconstructed family trees. The level of social homogamy was measured by comparing the 'origin' of the social statuses of the spouses, i.e. the social statuses of the spouses' parents. This approach was adopted for practical reasons: spouses often had the same social status because wives' occupations were assigned the same status as those of their husbands. Social homogamy was calculated by selecting the occupational and social classification marks of the spouses' parents from the Church Records at the time when the father (or mother) was 40 years of age. The differences in social statuses or heterogamy were defined via four social groups, which are typically used in Finnish historical studies: (1) the upper classes, (2) the freeholder class, (3) the tenant class (crofters and crafters, etc.) and (4) labourers (e.g. Soininen, 1974, p. 42; Alapuro, 1985).

First, we discuss the findings on social homogamy in previous studies and the theory of marriage patterns. Second, we present the data; discuss their limitations and the methods exploited. Next, we present some descriptive statistics and variables included in the data. Furthermore, social homogamy is analysed using a logistic regression model and odds ratios. The study assesses how structural and personal background factors relate to social homogamy. Finally, the results are discussed and future plans for research are presented.

## 2. Previous research

The question of mate selection has been a research topic of primary concern both in studies on historical demography and family sociology. Partner choice has naturally been crucial for the couples themselves, but also for their parents, relatives and friends as well as for the local community and all of society (van Leeuwen & Maas, 2005, 2006). Marriage satisfies the emotional, sexual and safety needs of the spouses, but it also offers economic and social security and sometimes provides a route to social mobility for one or both of the spouses (Jacobs & Furstenberg, 1986; van de Putte et al., 2009). In turn, a partner's parents and relatives have their own motives for protecting or strengthening their power or property via marriage arrangements. Local power holders aim to maintain or emphasise the social, religious, ethnic or political borders of the residential area, which may also have been prescribed as written norms (Kalmijn, 1998; van Leeuwen & Maas, 2005). The size of the marriage market, the density of the population, occupational segregation and property claims are all structures that impact the partner selection processes (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 404; van Leeuwen & Maas, 2005, pp. 5–10). Naturally, institutional factors such as laws and regulations have guided marriage practices as well.

Generally speaking, individuals tend to marry someone of a similar age, from the same ethnic group, with the same level of education and from a similar family background (Burgess & Wallin, 1943; Kalmijn, 1998; Mare, 1991; van Leeuwen & Maas, 2005). Theoretically, four social forces have interactively influenced marriage patterns: individual preferences (love), family interests (marriage strategies), group pressure (local power and social norms) and the structural restrictions on the marriage markets (size and division) (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 398). Individual preference as a key factor is not easy to define: love and falling in love have had totally different meanings throughout history, and its position in the marriage process is problematic with respect to making historical comparisons (May, 2011). Goal-oriented marriage strategies obviously concerned royalty and upper business elites (Jallinoja, 2017), but it is unclear what they meant for the freeholder class and country people. The benefits of marriage arrangements were probably for the most part limited. There is evidence of strong local norms that controlled marriage practices. The basic motive of these unwritten norms seems to have been to avoid conflicts and contradictions dangerous for societal communality (Saarimäki, 2010). In a sparsely populated country like Finland, the marriage markets have offered only limited possibilities to marry outside one's own status group.

The four factors should be understood as a combination of interactive forces, the importance of which has varied depending on the time period and particular area. In addition to interacting with one another, the factors may have had opposite influences as well. In Finnish agrarian society, the Lutheran Church aimed to prevent premarital relations by imposing punishments and fines, while the popular custom was for the groom and bride to have sexual intercourse before marrying to make sure they were compatible (Saarimäki, 2010; Miettinen, 2012, p. 165–169; Vainio-Korhonen, 2017).

Historical studies on social homogamy are not numerous in the Nordic countries, but there are tentative results regarding the relatively high level of social homogamy in these countries during agrarian times. From an historical standpoint, scholars consider

the four Nordic countries of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark to have been economically and socially quite similar. However, modern history writing has begun to question the most common myths regarding this unity, for example the myth of idealistic ideas regarding an independent freeholder class and local autonomy. Landowning reforms, for instance the general parcelling out of land, were realised in different ways and at various time in these four countries. While such a project was organised in Sweden (and Finland) by the central government, in Denmark it was executed by the will of the local estate owners. Urbanisation and industrialisation proceeded from these efforts, with Finland clearly lagging behind the other countries. However, agricultural production remained the main industry in all of the countries between 1700 and 1900, and the freeholder class constituted the largest social group. In addition, the marriage acts and inheritance codes were quite similar for historical reasons (Hentilä, Krötzl, & Pulma, 2002).

In Norway, Bull (2005) has studied social homogamy and constraints on the marriage market in the parish of Rendalen in the years 1750–1900. He emphasises the strong, but slowly declining, level of social homogamy among the freeholding class, and he drew some rather interesting conclusions about the important position of fathers with respect to marriage strategies. He also notes, referring Sundt's (1855) classic study, that social homogamy was a means for the landowning class to maintain the social position it had attained in the rapidly changing agrarian society. Thus, the agrarian world also remained polarised in the marriage market.

In Sweden, Dribe and Lundh (2009, 2014) have, similar to the Norwegian case, highlighted the strong significance of socioeconomic status and access to land in the marriage markets in nineteenth-century rural Sweden (and Denmark). During that time, social homogamy and age homogamy were strong, with only geographic exogamy increasing notably. Like in Norway, members of the landless population had only limited possibilities to marry someone from the landowning classes. The authors note that there was not a strong connection between 'modernisation' and marriage patterns, at least not in the Swedish case. The great importance of social homogamy in the Nordic countries has also been emphasised by van Leeuwen and Maas (2006) in an article on marriage in northern Sweden.

There are some studies on social homogamy in Finland. The most important ones have been written by Moring (1999, 2009a, 2009b)). She has strongly emphasised the class dependency of the marriage markets in rural Finland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Freeholders only rarely married outside the landowning groups, and the opportunity for upward social mobility through marrying someone from one of the wealthier classes was quite limited in practice. An overall interpretation has been that in an agrarian pre-industrial society, the main motive behind mate selection was an economic one (Nieminen, 1993; Räisänen, 1995).

Benefitting the farm and family was the main aim. Marriage was an institution that maintained and even strengthened class distinctions (Jutikkala, 1942; Pöntinen, 1976; Pylkkänen, 1991; Markkola, 2003; Miettinen, 2012; Kietäväinen-Sirén, 2015; Häkkinen, 2018, pp. 123–130). Soininen (1974) has written about the extremely complicated social structure of Finland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which consisted of numerous different groups. The social meaning of these distinctions varied depending on the region in question. This makes any study of social homogamy difficult and calls

for the use of different occupational classifications. Nevertheless, Soininen (1974, pp. 394–410) has noted that the main distinction was between the landowning and landless populations, and this division only became more pronounced during the nineteenth century. There are also other studies on homogamy in Finland, but their focus has been on other types of homogamy or on a different period of time (e.g. Domański & Przybysz, 2007; Finnäs, 1997; Mäenpää, 2007; Mäenpää & Jalovaara, 2013).

### 3. Theory

#### 3.1. Remarrying

Several studies have suggested that remarrying increases the number of heterogeneous marriages (Dean & Gurak, 1978; Jacobs & Furstenberg, 1986; Trost, 1984). Possible explanations suggest that, after the first marriage, people tend to have larger social networks: more contacts with people from different social classes and statuses and outside one's own residential area (Dean & Gurak, 1978, p. 561). Especially in agrarian society, the control of land seems to have operated in close connection with remarriage strategies and patterns. The widows of tenants found themselves in a totally different situation than the widows of freeholders, with the former being viewed as a desired spouse for a younger man from the landless population (Myking, 2004, p. 29). Furthermore, women who remarried at an older age seem to have experienced social decline more often (Jacobs & Furstenberg, 1986, pp. 719–721). Also, the level of age homogamy seems to have been lower when remarrying (Jacobs & Furstenberg, 1986).

#### 3.2. Age

When considering age differences between spouses, typically smaller age differences indicated less traditional views of marital gender roles (Atkinson & Glass, 1985). Overall, the literature indicates that age differences between partners decreased during the twentieth century in the Netherlands, England and Sweden (Wrigley & Schofield, 1983, p. 166; van Poppel, Liefbroer, Vermunt, & Smeenk, 2001, p. 12; Dribe & Lundh, 2009, p. 402; van de Putte et al., 2009). Also, a few studies show that the tendency towards smaller age differences had started already in the latter part of the nineteenth century (van Poppel et al., 2001, p. 12). However, according to a recent study by Häkkinen (2018, p. 125), this does not seem to have been the case in Finland.

The age difference between spouses has often been associated with lower educational levels, lower family income and lower occupational status (Atkinson & Glass 1985, p. 690). Skinner (1997, p. 25) has noted that the 'average age differences between spouses vary across regions and over time. To some extent, the size of the age gap seems to be correlated with the dominating household formation system, inheritance practices, and mentality.' Age is related to working ability and fecundity, but it might also indicate a difference in status between the spouses (Dribe & Lundh, 2009, p. 401). But as van de Putte et al. (2009, pp. 1234–1253) have noted, if marriage is viewed as instrumental, as an economic contract, the economic characteristics of the potential spouses are the main criterion in the partner selection process. Dribe and Lundh (2009, pp. 401–402) have discovered

that in rural Sweden, freeholders' daughters who married young were much less likely to marry a partner from a lower social background, and they had the greatest likelihood of being married to husbands more than three years older than them. The authors claim that young women of the freeholder class used the asset of youth to maintain their social status, giving up the possibility of finding a partner of a more similar age.

### **3.3. *Illegitimate children***

For a long time, the interpretations of illegitimate children and their mothers' position have followed the ideas of Tilly, Scott, and Cohen (1976): They interpreted illegitimacy as the misfortune of young women, especially those who were far from home and had lost the protections and constraints provided by the family. Iutaka, Bock, and Berardo (1975) have suggested that the social status of women (as measured by the father's occupation) appeared to be the most significant background factor related to illegitimacy. Moreover, the bearing of an illegitimate child lowered a mother's social mobility when measured by the level of education attained or by the social status of the husband (Iutaka et al., 1975). Furthermore, the stigma of illegitimacy followed one throughout his/her lifetime (Pohjola-Vilkuna, 1995; Saarimäki, 2010).

In the last decades, however, the issue of illegitimacy in preindustrial societies has received new interpretations. The perception of single mothers as victims has decreased. Single mothers often demonstrated legal agency, being able to defend themselves and demand that the fathers play a role in supporting the children (Vermeesch, 2016, p. 52; Markkola, 2003; Saarimäki, 2010).

However, if one spouse died and left small children, the widow or widower often remarried immediately. The need for childcare and breadwinning provided an immediate reason for such behaviour. The Marriage Act allowed a widow to remarry half a year after her husband's death, while a widower's official mourning time was one year. Such a course of action was pursued almost without exception. Therefore, it is possible that such a hasty desire to remarry could result in marriages with persons from a dissimilar class. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate in more detail the question, did having an illegitimate child or children or living as an extra-marital child cause problems in the marriage market?

### **3.4. *Differences in demographical and industrial characteristics***

The latter part of the nineteenth century in Finland has often been characterised as a period of structural change for all those involved in agricultural production (Soininen, 1974, pp. 410–415), a rapidly expanding industrial sector (Hjerppe & Jalava, 2006), increasing spatial mobility and urbanisation (Lento, 1951), a rapidly commercialising agrarian world (Peltonen, 1992) and the breaking down of a class-based society (Gluschkoff, 2006). Thus, it is interesting to observe whether these processes strengthened or diminished the role of the spouses' social background.

Scholars have noted that pre-industrial agrarian societies generally ascribed to very strict marriage markets controlled by the family, whereas industrialising societies slowly moved towards more class- and status-bound marriage practices guided by institutional



rules and local habits, before finally entering into a loose partner-selecting system comprised free will and romantic love (Lipset & Bendix, 1959; Murstein, 1967; van Leeuwen & Maas, 2005). This overall trend has been problematised by, for instance, Bull (2005), whose studies on Norway have revealed a counter-trend, in which social homogamy even strengthened in the countryside during the period of large structural changes at the end of the nineteenth century. According to Bull (2005), the crises faced by agrarian society tended to strengthen homogamy, especially in the freeholder class. Also, some studies have indicated that the stratification failed to expand the social borders in marriage practices (e.g. Schumacher & Lorenzetti, 2005).

In Finland, changes in the marriage systems were closely related to the overall tendency of downward social mobility that occurred already at the end of the eighteenth century and accelerated in the nineteenth century. The decline in many people's prospects was the result of the local agrarian practice of favouring the male siblings of the family when it came to property and inheritance arrangements. Whereas the oldest son of a family normally assumed a position of authority in the household as a part of his parents' pension arrangements and/or inherited the household after his father's death, the other siblings had to resolve themselves to a more limited inheritance. However, if possible the younger sons were compensated with a small parcel of land carved out of the larger family farm. The newly married couple then settled on the new farm, regardless of the bride's social background. When a farmer's daughter married a man from a lower social status group, similar possibilities were available only in those cases where a male descendant did not exist in the farmer's family. For the farmer's daughter, this usually then meant social decline (Moring, 1999).

#### 4. The data

The observations used for the analysis are from the years 1700–1910 (year of marriage).<sup>2</sup> The data collection began with 10 families who had received short- or long-term poor relief in Helsinki during the Great Depression of the 1930s, representing various social status groups and originating from different parts of the country. Using archival records of the Church for local parishes, the family trees were traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, totalling 446 ancestors. Then, the progeny of these first representatives of the families were followed up on until the beginning of the twentieth century. To construct the family histories, common demographical methods were used and the descendants' family trees were constructed by including both biological and marriage-related descendants in the data.<sup>3</sup> The digitalised church records database (HISKI)<sup>4</sup> was used to accomplish this task. The database includes information on christenings, marriages, burials and moves to other parishes as well as church books in Finland from the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The birth places of the first generation are presented in [Appendix 1](#). They primarily lived in the areas of southern and western Finland, but some also lived in eastern Finland.

A heterogamous marriage is defined as a marriage in which the parents of the bride are from a different social class than the parents of the groom. We identified four classes: (1) the upper classes, (2) freeholders, (3) the tenant class (crofters and crafters, etc.), and (4) labourers. The choice of classes is based on the previous demographic literature in Finland (e.g. Soininen, 1974, p. 42; Alapuro, 1985), as well as practical reasons: a

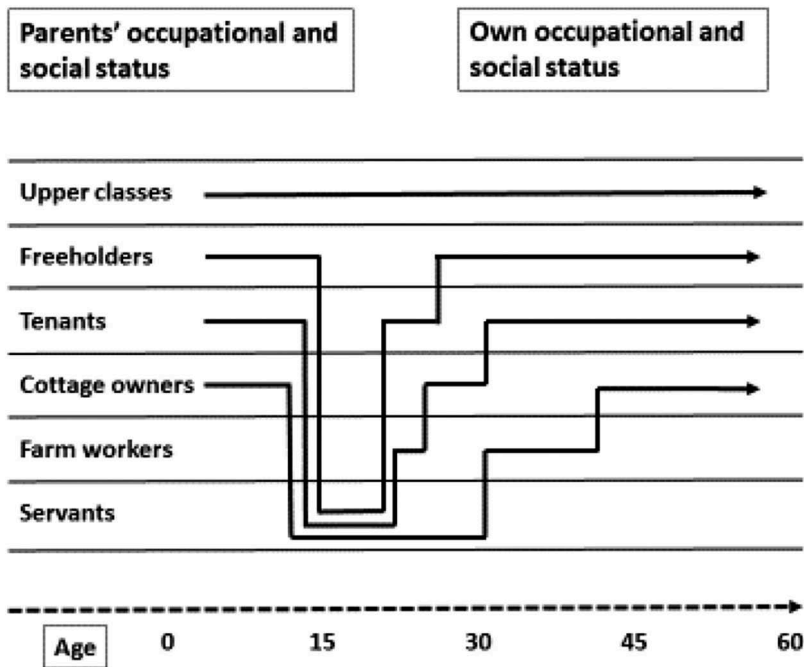


sufficient number of observations in each class can be thus made to draw reliable conclusions. In addition, the average yearly incomes of overlapping social classes differed significantly in 1880: (1) for the upper classes, FIM 2000–2500; (2) for freeholders, FIM 856; (3) for crofters, FIM 659; and (4) for agricultural labourers, FIM 470 (OSF, 1885a, IV 4; Heikkinen, 1997).<sup>6</sup> The social status of the spouses' parents was selected as criteria because of the likelihood that the bride's, especially a housewife's, occupational status was normally determined by that of her husband.<sup>7</sup>

In pre-industrial Finland, there was a thin stratum (< 5%) of persons in the upper classes, e.g. shopkeepers, the clergy, civil servants and army officers. Estate owners,<sup>8</sup> those who governed large farms with numerous crofters and workers and who had important privileges (e.g. fixed-term exemption from taxation), were also included in the upper class. Freeholders comprised the other class of landowners. However, the judicial titles of 'farmer', 'crofter', 'farm worker', and so forth, were not internally exact: For example, the title farmer included households with various sizes of farms, and some crofters were wealthier than small farmers. A crofter/tenant farmer,<sup>9</sup> a person who rented his land from a landowner, usually obtained his main earnings from craft work (e.g. as a mason or blacksmith) or from being a soldier. The Swedish term 'inhyeses' refers to a situation where a person lived in a farmer's home but worked for someone else. He could also work as a tailor or a shoemaker. If possible, the main type of work done by a person was marked and coded in the data. The social class of labourer was not unambiguous either. Until the 1860s, particularly in the rural parishes, the notes on occupations found in the Church records primarily pertained to the so-called legal protection system. When a landless labourer had to live under the rule of a local landowning master, this relationship was marked in the records as the occupation or social status of that particular person or family. Social status was discussed in terms of a relationship to the master. A similar system also existed in the towns (Häkkinen & Peltola, 2001).

The occupational class of a person often changed during the course of his/her lifetime. It was quite common that the children of particular social classes (with the exception of the upper classes) started their careers as servants or farm workers (Figure 1). Most young men and women worked as farm servants outside their homes between the ages of 15 and 22. This practice was enforced by the law of 1723, which placed restrictions on the number of a landowners' children who could stay and work at home. The statute was inconsistently enforced, though, and later on it was abandoned (Vilmi, 1991). However, this service arrangement for young men and women was in place for a long period of time, impacting how they were raised and trained. Sending young people to serve on a specific farm or croft could have been a very purposeful action, being a part of general marriage and family strategies. Often the son of a farmer married a girl working on the same farm, or vice versa.

A servant's social status usually changed when he or she married. Married farm workers often had their own house or cottage. Later on, they were often able to purchase a croft. The married sons of freeholders usually returned with their new family to live and work on their parents' farm, most often living in a separate building. This state of affairs existed until they inherited ownership of the farm, were able to find or buy a new farm or croft, or else began to cultivate the farm together with their brother(s). Sometimes the newly married couple moved in with the bride's father. During a person's lifetime, his or her social position could change several times as the result of a spouse's death and a widower's or widow's remarriage.



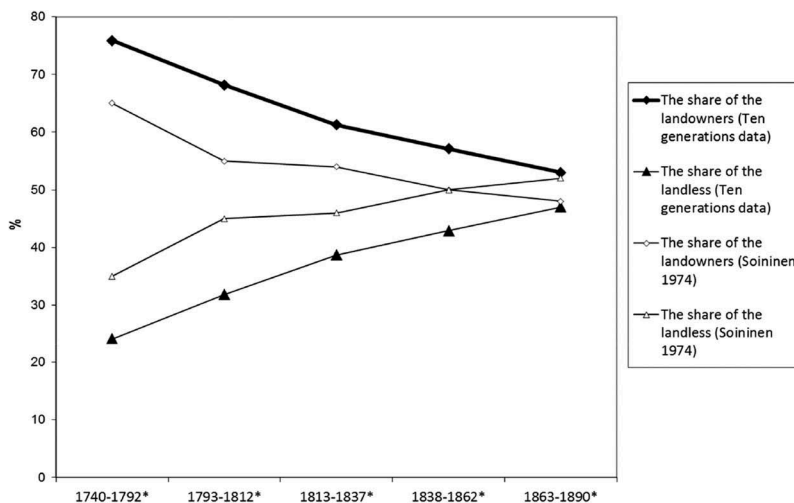
**Figure 1.** An illustrative model of an employment trajectory in an agrarian society.

For our purposes, this level of diversity and complexity in occupational statuses could not be taken into account. However, at the age of 40 a person usually achieved his/her maximum social position and the changes in occupations gradually decreased. Thus, the decisive moment of coding was set at the age of 40. If a person died before that age, the last occupation was marked in the register, excluding those who died before the age of 26.

## 5. Limitations of the data and methods

The probability of a heterogamous marriage depended on the share of those in a particular social class in relation to the total population. If the occupational distribution was crucially different between time periods, overall trends in heterogamy would very likely be driven by these population shares. Furthermore, low representativeness of the data could bias the results.

The main historical social border within rural agrarian Finland was between the landowners and the landless population. Since only unreliable estimates of the population shares exist at a more detailed level, the representativeness of the data was tested by comparing the shares of landowner and landless. [Figure 2](#) shows the shares of landowners and landless persons in our data compared with an estimation constructed by Soininen (1974). Especially in the earliest periods, our data consisted mainly of landowners, but the shares of landowners and landless persons converged substantially during the studied periods. At first glance, it seems that the landless are moderately underrepresented in the data compared to the overall population. However, this might be the result of several factors.



**Figure 2.** Shares of the male landowners and landless during five time periods in Finland (HISCAM) (N = 9,449).

Source: Soininen, 1974; Ten Generations data, see text.\* The shares of the whole population based on estimations made by Soininen (1974). However, those yearly estimates are slightly different from the periods described in the Ten Generations data: 1740–1792 = 1754; 1793–1812 = 1805; 1813–1837 = 1825; 1838–1862 = 1850; 1863–1890 = 1875.

First, in our data social class was measured at the age of 40, which is the point in time at which social status generally peaks. Second, and possibly less influential, social status was determined as the higher occupational status within the parental couple. Taken together, the difference between our data and a representative distribution was relatively small or moderate and unlikely to seriously bias our results. However, generalisations cannot be made only regarding developments in average marriage heterogamy, unless we take into account the changing social structure as well.

Third, our data cover only the rural areas of southern and western Finland relatively well (see [Appendix 1](#)). These regions contained roughly two-thirds of the population of Finland at the time. Western Finland was an area with a large agricultural sector and few industrial activities, and its population consisted predominantly of freeholders with medium-sized farms until the end of the nineteenth century. The coastal area consisted of small towns with more trade and shipping activities. The same area experienced rapid population growth and a large amount of immigration to the United States from the 1880s onwards. On the other hand, southern Finland had been the administrative centre of the country since Finland had become a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809. Gradually the area became more important for industry, trade, shipping and education. Local communities lost a great deal of their population as a result of internal migration beginning in the nineteenth century. The eastern part of the country became a sphere of economic influence for Saint Petersburg, enjoying beneficial trade relations with the capital city of Russia. The area was a typical rural area with small farms and an active forest industry (e.g. Kirby, 2006; Soininen, 1974). Thus, there certain uncertainties regarding class and marriage patterns exist when making generalisations on a national scale.

In this study, social origin heterogamy was studied using a logistic regression model and odds ratios. This approach is common in the field of social mobility and homogamy (e.g. Bras & Kok, 2005; Modalsli, 2016). The dependent variable is the heterogamy of the spouses' parents' occupational class. The outcome of the dependent variable is binary: heterogamy is set at 1 and homogamy at 0. As noted before, the most crucial possible bias in our data had to do with occupational distribution. This potential limitation was corrected by estimating logistic regression models separately for the four occupational classes of the groom  $X_i$ ,  $i = 0 - 1$ . In other words, we for example estimated the odds for the spouses' parents' heterogamous marriage when the occupation of the groom was listed as freeholder compared to when the grooms' occupation was listed as other than freeholder. This approach was used for other classes as well. Thus, the results were not affected by changes in the occupational distribution of the sample (see also Modalsli, 2016). We also added variables for individual and family characteristics ( $\mathbf{Z}_1$ ), as well as regional- and structural-level variables ( $\mathbf{Z}_2$ ). The odds ratios are presented in the different occupational subsamples and for particular time periods. The specific model is as follows:

$$\ln\left(\frac{P(Y = 1)}{P(Y = 0)}\right) = \alpha + \beta X_i + \gamma \mathbf{Z}_1 + \delta \mathbf{Z}_2 + \epsilon \quad (1)$$

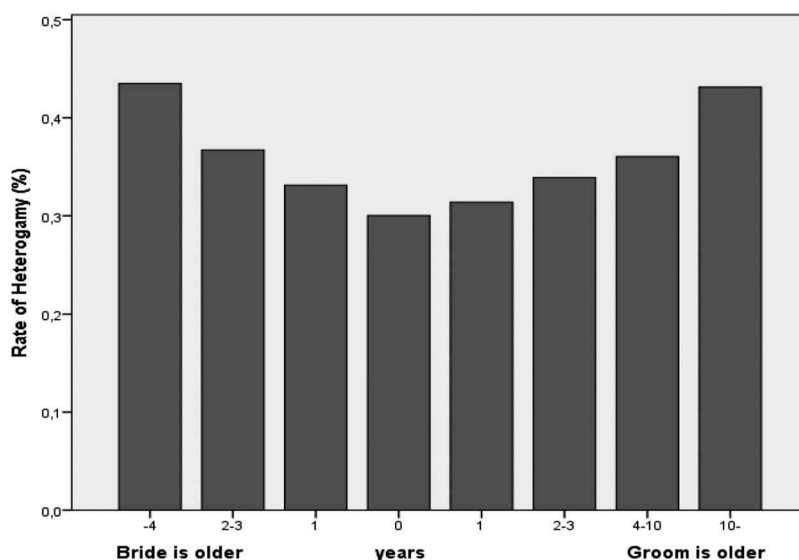
The estimated coefficients can be transferred to odds ratios (e.g.  $e^\beta$ ). Odds ratios above one mean that a variable is positively related to heterogamy, whereas an odds ratio below one indicates a negative relationship. If the odds ratio is 1, there is no relationship between a variable and heterogamy.

## 6. Measurement and descriptive statistics

In the data, 81 per cent of all marriages were first marriages for both the groom and the bride. This percentage remained relatively stable throughout the whole research period, although the high mortality peaks of 1808 and 1868 increased the relative number of remarriages. The mean marrying age for grooms was 28.1, while the median age was 25, while the mean marrying age for brides was 25.3 and the median age 23. Additionally, Figure 3 indicates that the older the groom or bride, the higher the rate of heterogamy of the spouses' parents.

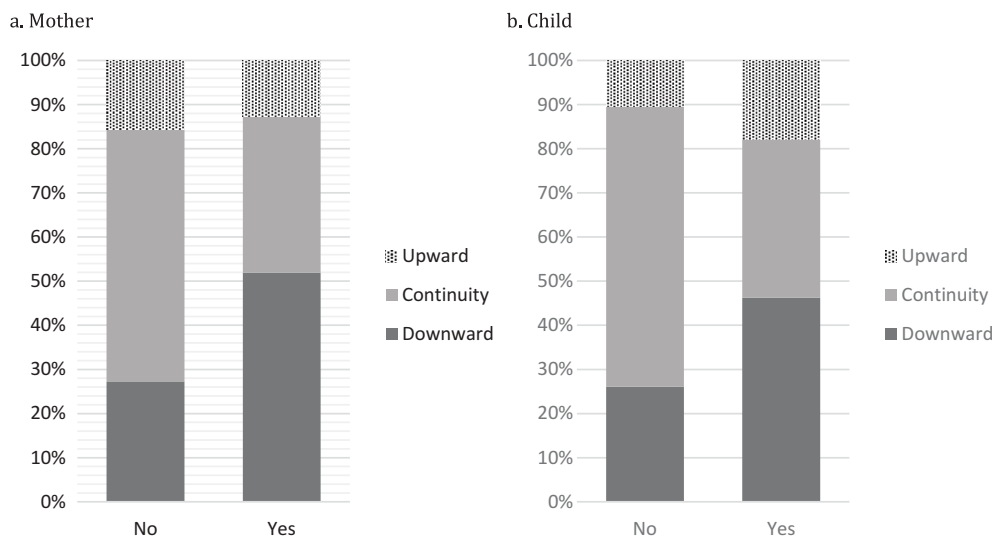
The data included 879 unmarried mothers, with reliable information being available for 749 of them. In addition, between 1.1 and 1.4 per cent of the spouses were born outside of wedlock. Figure 4 suggests that having illegitimate children or being an illegitimate child increased the chances for downward social mobility in marriages. On the other hand, being an illegitimate child increased upward mobility as well. However, this probably derived from the fact that having illegitimate child or being a single mother was considerably more common in the labour class (Table 1).

The shift towards industrialisation was only moderate at first and did not start to take place until the latter part of the nineteenth century; thus, only roughly four per cent of the grooms' area type was a local centre of industry or a centre of traffic. We distinguished between agrarian villages, villages with fishing and farming industry, and villages with industrial production (0), as well as between whether



**Figure 3.** The rate of heterogamy and the age difference between the spouses in the years 1700–1910, first marriage for both ( $n = 8\,237$ ).

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.



**Figure 4.** (a). Having one or more illegitimate children and social mobility ( $n = 9\,947$ ); (b). Links between being an illegitimate child and social mobility, 1700–1910 ( $n = 18\,076$ ).

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

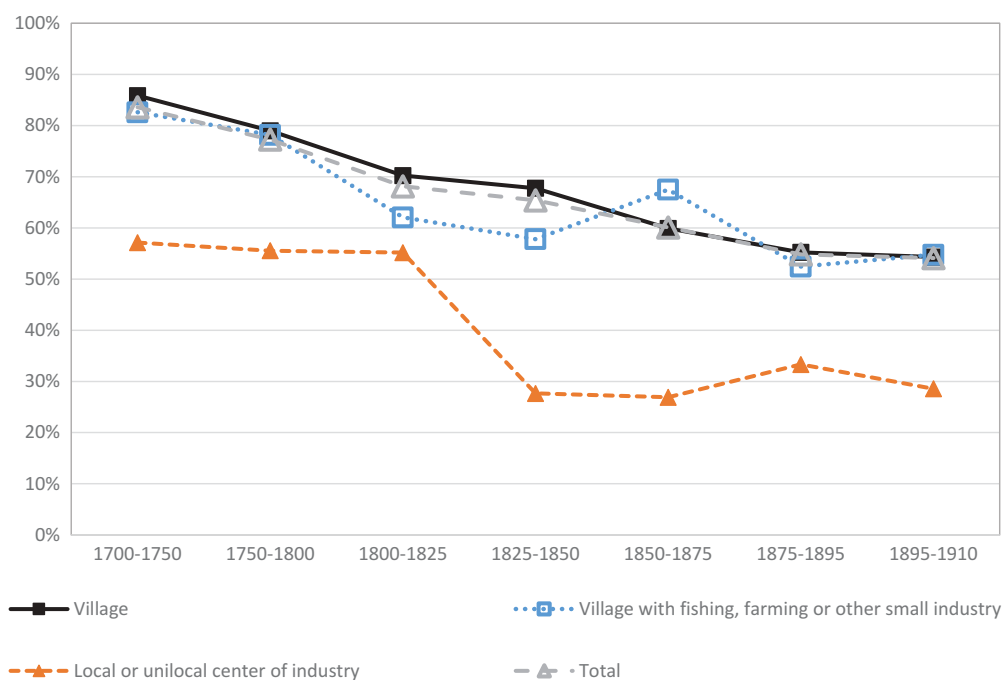
a place was an important local industrial or/and traffic centre or not (1). The rate of homogamy was considerably lower in local or unilocal centres of industry compared with villages (Figure 5). In fact, this result is in line with our hypothesis: we would expect more heterogamy in regions with larger marriage possibilities. In addition, it was relatively uncommon to seek spouses outside of one's own living

**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics in the Ten-Generations data.

	All					Upper classes			Freeholders			Tenants			Labourers		
	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.	
Year of marriage	1 702	1 910	1 843	44.3		1 839	48.8		1 832	45.1		1 837	41.9		1 861	31.9	Church records
Groom's first marriage (0/1)	0	1	0.85	0.36		0.91	0.28		0.82	0.39		0.84	0.37		0.89	0.31	Church records
Bride's first marriage (0/1)	0	1	0.90	0.31		0.94	0.23		0.88	0.32		0.89	0.31		0.91	0.28	Church records
Age difference (negative values if bride was older)	-46	64	2.86	7.25		4.21	7.65		3.25	7.30		2.92	7.60		2.14	7.22	Church records
Bride's age	14	74	25.3	7.8		25.7	7.4		24.9	8.1		26.2	7.8		26.1	7.6	Church records
Groom's position as an illegitimate child (0/1)	0	1	0.01	0.11		0.01	0.08		0.00	0.05		0.01	0.12		0.04	0.18	Church records
Bride's position as an illegitimate child (0/1)	0	1	0.01	0.12		0.01	0.08		0.01	0.07		0.02	0.13		0.04	0.19	Church records
Bride's former position as a single mother (0/1)	0	1	0.05	0.22		0.03	0.16		0.02	0.14		0.07	0.25		0.13	0.34	Church records
Groom's area type (local) centre (0/1)	0	1	0.04	0.20		0.33	0.47		0.02	0.14		0.07	0.26		0.04	0.21	Gebhard 1908; Böcker col.
Parents' birth parish, same or different (0/1)	0	1	0.33	0.47		0.60	0.49		0.29	0.45		0.36	0.48		0.36	0.48	Church records
Spouses' birth counties, same or different (0/1)	0	1	0.05	0.22		0.25	0.44		0.03	0.16		0.06	0.24		0.08	0.28	Church records
Spouses' birth area type, same or different (0/1)	0	1	0.08	0.28		0.37	0.48		0.05	0.23		0.10	0.30		0.11	0.32	Gebhard 1908; Böcker col.
The mean share of casual workers, 1815–1875 (%)	2	4	2.77	0.31		2.57	0.32		2.81	0.32		2.72	0.32		2.70	0.29	Kilpi, 1913
The mean share of Freeholders, 1815–1875 (%)	5	10	6.30	0.87		5.68	1.05		6.42	0.83		6.10	0.87		6.11	0.88	Gebhard 1908; Böcker col.
People who emigrated in 1882 (%)*	0	9	2.39	1.00		3.00	1.42		2.32	0.94		2.53	1.02		2.58	1.05	OSF VI: 12; OSF VI:9;1
Finnish-speaking population in 1880 (%)	0	100	76.3	36.6		54.2	38.1		76.3	37.5		74.4	37.0		76.9	33.6	SYF 1885
The share of poor relief recipients in 1881 (%)	0	12	3.14	1.54		2.95	1.59		3.26	1.55		2.92	1.47		3.03	1.62	OSF 1890; PRA**
Average lifespan in parish if lived over 20 years	35	80	58.62	3.77		57.47	4.72		58.68	3.56		58.30	3.78		57.97	3.85	1927–1936.
N			10 129			258			5 074			2 191			1 609		Church records

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

\*Percentage of the population in 1880. \*\* Poor Relief Acts.



**Figure 5.** The rate of homogamy based on the grooms' residential area (the cohorts of the marriage year) (n = 8 342).

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

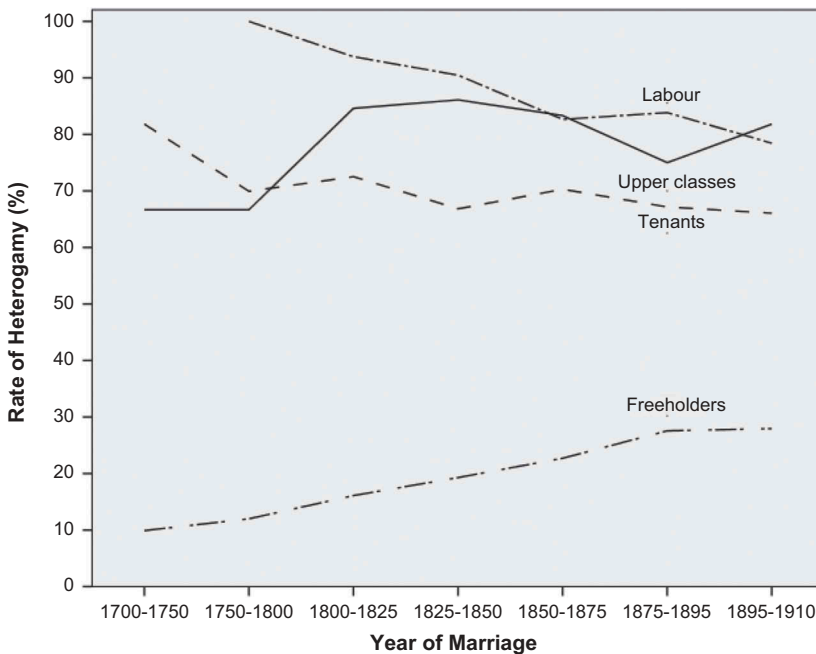
area: a spouses' parents' home county was different in 5% of the cases and home parish in 33% of the cases (Table 1). However, searching for spouses in different regions was considerably more common in the upper classes.

Regional-level variables were added to our analysis of the demographics of a county (the mean share of casual workers or freeholders in 1815–1875) (Kilpi, 1913) (Table 1).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the socio-economic characteristics of the parish were captured by the following variables: people who emigrated in 1882 (%),<sup>11</sup> Finnish-speaking population in 1880 (%),<sup>12</sup> the share of poor-relief recipients in 1881 (%)<sup>13</sup> and the average lifespan of persons who had lived beyond the age of 20 years. The out-migration factor and those receiving poor relief indicated areas where the economic situation and future prospects were worse. It might be that in those areas, 'normal' social mobility had been disrupted for some reason and migration was a result of that change in circumstances. On the other hand, the Swedish-speaking areas were more prosperous regions, and it would be interesting to analyse the extent to which this may have affected heterogamy.

## 7. Developments in social heterogamy in Finland

Figure 6 presents changes in the rate of social heterogamy of grooms from the four main social classes. What is remarkable is the extent to which the freeholder class was extremely closed in the eighteenth century: almost 90% of the marriages of sons of





**Figure 6.** The rate of social heterogamy, based on the social status of the spouses' parents, in the grooms' occupation classes, 1700–1910 (n = 8 285 marriages).

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

freeholders were with the daughters of freeholders. However, the social homogamy of the freeholder class decreased during the research period, though it still remained high (70–75%). Heterogamy among the upper classes was much higher compared with the freeholders, and it even increased during the eighteenth century. Likewise, heterogamy among crofters and the labour class remained at much higher levels compared with that of freeholders. One disadvantage of presenting rates of heterogamy (instead of odds ratios) is that the percentages are affected by the distribution of occupations in the data. In other words, since the data predominantly consisted of freeholders in the earliest periods, but the share of freeholders declined over time, this could be the reason for the increasing rate of heterogamy.

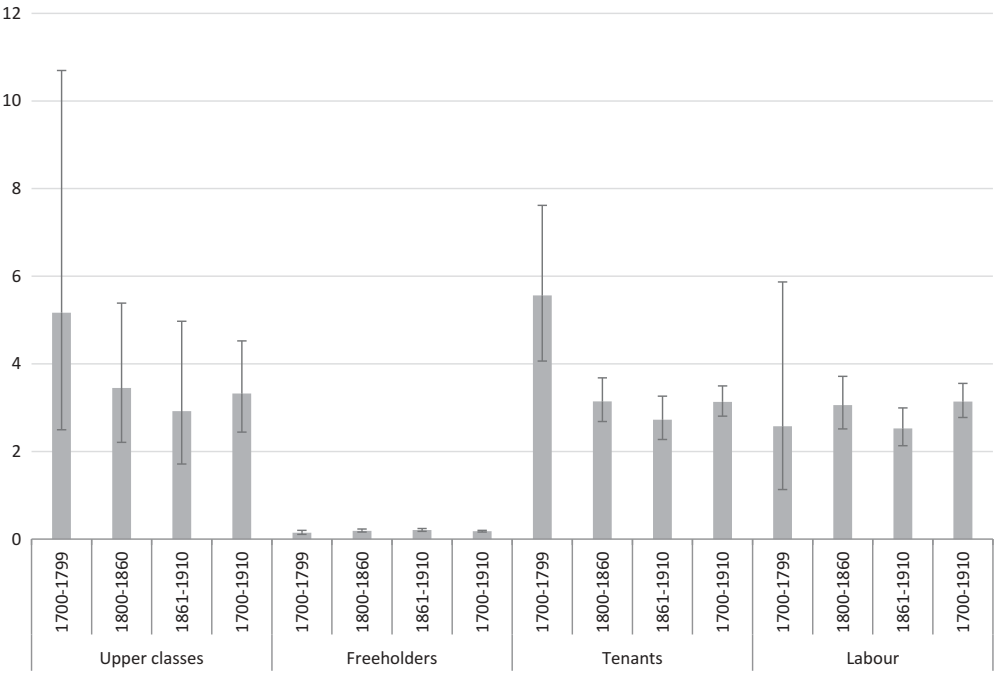
Table 2 compares the social statuses of the groom's and bride's fathers. The rather minuscule population share of the upper classes enforced more heterogamous marriage patterns; roughly 30% married persons from the tenant or labour classes. Nevertheless, the other three classes had only a small probability of marrying a spouse from the highest social class (only a few per cent). The freeholder class had high homogamy rates, however, with marriages to persons from the tenant class being notable. In addition, persons in the tenant class had higher probabilities of marrying a spouse with at least an occupation at the level of those in the tenant class compared to persons in the labour class.

The odds ratios presented in Figure 7 confirm our earlier conclusion that the freeholder group was a strictly regulated social class and that the social origins of the spouses were quite similar. In addition, we found no evidence of diminishing homogamy in the freeholder class. Social heterogamy occurred at relatively similar levels in

**Table 2.** Cross tabulation of the social class of the groom’s and bride’s parents by period (% , n = 8 285).

			Social status of the brides’ fathers				
			Upper classes	Freeholders	Tenants	Labourers	Total
Social status of the grooms’ father	1700–1860	Upper classes	30.0	38.9	26.7	4.4	100 (90)
		Freeholders	1.1	84.0	12.2	2.6	100 (3 586)
		Tenants	1.8	48.9	42.0	7.4	100 (1 019)
		Labourers	2.6	43.5	39.0	14.9	100 (154)
		Total	1.8	74.5	19.6	4.0	100 (4 849)
	1861–1910	Upper classes	28.9	44.4	20.0	6.7	100 (45)
		Freeholders	0.7	73.8	18.1	7.4	100 (2 147)
		Tenants	0.8	43.3	38.2	17.7	100 (853)
		Labourers	1.8	35.8	35.5	26.9	100 (391)
		Total	1.2	61.5	25.1	12.2	100 (3 436)
	Total	Upper classes	29.6	40.7	24.4	5.2	100 (135)
		Freeholders	1.0	80.2	14.4	4.4	100 (5 733)
		Tenants	1.3	46.3	40.3	12.1	100 (1 872)
		Labourers	2.0	38.0	36.5	23.5	100 (545)
		Total	1.6	69.1	21.9	7.4	100 (8 285)

1700 - 1860: $\chi^2=1050.6$ ,  $p<0.001$   
1861 - 1910: $\chi^2=681.2$ ,  $d.f=9$ ,  $p<0.001$   
Total: $\chi^2=1825.0$ ,  $d.f =9$ ,  $p<0.001$   
Source: Ten-Generations data, see text.



**Figure 7.** Odds ratios ( $OR = e^{\beta}$ ) for different regressions of the grooms’ occupations based on the social heterogamy of the spouses’ parents (four classes).

Source: Ten Generations data, see text. Separate logistic regressions for each time period and social class. Error bars: 95% C.I. for odds ratios. Regressions do not include any control variables. OLS regressions are available on request.

the other three social classes, with the levels being remarkably higher compared with the odds ratios for the freeholder class. Interpreting the odds ratios between different time periods is challenging because the confidence intervals were notably wide.

**Table 3.** Odds ratios ( $OR = e^{\beta}$ ) for different regressions of the grooms' occupations based on the social heterogamy of the spouses' parents (four classes, see equation 1).

Grooms' occupation	1700–1799		1800–60		1861–1910		1700–1910	
<b>Upper classes</b>	2.786		2.125		2.247		2.342	
Sig.	0.020		0.003		0.007		0.000	
95% C.I. for OR	1.173	6.618	1.284	3.518	1.254	4.025	1.662	3.299
<b>Freeholders</b>	0.181		0.219		0.233		0.208	
Sig.	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
95% C.I. for OR	0.130	0.253	0.186	0.256	0.196	0.276	0.187	0.232
<b>Tenants</b>	4.826		2.860		2.626		2.926	
Sig.	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
95% C.I. for OR	3.421	6.809	2.421	3.378	2.172	3.175	2.606	3.286
<b>Labourers</b>	2.399		2.657		2.185		2.657	
Sig.	0.056		0.000		0.000		0.000	
95% C.I. for OR	0.977	5.889	2.159	3.269	1.817	2.627	2.327	3.034
N	1 122		3 496		2 848		7 466	

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

Separate logistic regressions for each time period and social class. Regressions include control variables for individual- and family-level as well as structural- and regional-level characteristics. OLS regressions are available on request.

Nevertheless, the trends suggest that heterogamy was decreasing rather than increasing during the studied period, i.e. for grooms belonging to the labour class, the upper classes and the tenant class. In fact, the decreasing level of heterogamy was statistically significant among those who belonged to the tenant class between the years 1700 and 1799 and 1800 and 1860.

The practice of adding a large number of controls to the models was not obviously done in this case. Moreover, it is quite difficult to distinguish theoretically between the effect of the control and the social class effect. For example, members of the freeholder class were much more locally oriented in their marriage patterns than those from other social classes: the share of brides with different birth residence types (see variable BIV in [section 6](#)) compared to the grooms' occupational class was 36.5% for the upper classes, 11.2% for the labour class, 10.2% for the tenant class and only 5.5% for the freeholder class. Therefore, it is evident that class impacted marriage patterns in multiple ways, and it is not always preferable to control for these effects. In [Table 3](#), the odds ratios were calculated in a similar way as before; however, these models included controls. The estimates were generally lower compared to the previous estimates ([Figure 7](#)), but overall the trends were similar. Nevertheless, though the tendency towards heterogamy in the freeholder class was probable, it was statistically insignificant and remained at remarkably low levels

At least to some extent, it could be problematic to compare different subsamples and their coefficients. Therefore, we calculated the interaction odds ratios using the whole sample: the grooms' occupation multiplied by the time period. These odds ratios were highly similar compared with our earlier results; however, there were indications that the level of heterogamy slightly increased during the research period. Nevertheless, the odds ratios of the freeholder class remained at notably low levels. In conclusion, there were some indications that heterogamy increased, but on the other hand, those patterns were quite modest and homogamy remained considerably higher in the freeholder class compared to the other classes.

**Table 4.** Logistic regression of heterogamy in Finland, 1700–1910 (OR = odds ratios).

Grooms' occupation	Freeholders		Freeholders		Freeholders		Tenants		Labourers	
	Sig.	OR	Sig.	OR	Sig.	OR	Sig.	OR	Sig.	OR
<b>(1) Individual level</b>										
I. Groom's first marriage (0/1)	0.249	0.865	0.263	0.865	0.251	0.862	0.401	1.161	0.087	1.480
II. Bride's first marriage (0/1)	0.190	0.835	0.337	0.874	0.482	0.906	0.745	1.072	0.025	1.797
III. Age difference (negative values if bride was older)	0.114	1.010	0.140	1.009	0.167	1.009	0.520	1.005	0.000	1.039
IV. Bride's age	0.002	1.021	0.004	1.020	0.002	1.021	0.013	1.024	0.000	1.055
V. Groom's position as an illegitimate child (0/1)	0.003	4.974	0.003	5.285	0.003	5.274	0.180	1.773	0.307	1.374
VI. Bride's position as an illegitimate child (0/1)	0.000	7.087	0.000	6.106	0.000	6.163	0.180	1.722	0.015	2.456
VII. Bride's former position as a single mother (0/1)	0.000	2.183	0.003	1.952	0.003	1.945	0.087	1.453	0.238	1.265
<b>(2) Structural level</b>										
I. Groom's area type (local centre (0/1)			0.056	1.858	0.048	1.872	0.618	1.143	0.637	1.225
II. Parents' birth parish, same or different (0/1)			0.003	1.299	0.002	1.319	0.180	1.172	0.000	1.701
III. Parents' birth counties, same or different (0/1)			0.000	2.548	0.000	2.500	0.440	0.812	0.176	0.660
IV. Spouses' birth area type, same or different (0/1)			0.001	1.791	0.001	1.765	0.027	1.663	0.145	0.690
V. The mean share of casual workers in 1815–1875) (%) #			0.091	0.728			0.006	0.474	0.474	0.691
VI. The mean share of peasants in 1815–1875) (%) #			0.630	0.964			0.106	0.849	0.017	0.670
VII. People who emigrated in 1882 (%)* #			0.027	0.864	0.065	0.886	0.636	1.039	0.823	1.022
VIII. Finnish-speaking population in 1880 (%) #			0.000	1.006	0.000	1.006	0.010	1.005	0.025	1.005
IX. The share of poor relief recipients in 1881 (%) #			0.033	0.944	0.027	0.943	0.063	0.934	0.765	1.013
X. Average lifespan in parish if lived over 20 years #			0.861	1.002			0.020	1.034	0.511	1.011
<b>Province</b>										
South					0.320	Ref.				
East					0.165	0.706				
West and North					0.237	0.858				
Constant	0.000	0.186	0.000	0.154	0.000	0.161	0.145	0.502	0.000	0.106
Nagelkerke R square		3.4		6.4		6.4		5.8		10.1
Percentage correct		79.9		80.0		79.9		57.6		63.2
N		4 428		4 375		4 419		1 692		1 231

Source: Ten Generations data, see text.

Separate logistic regressions for each social class. \*Percentage of the population in 1880. # Mean-centred variables.

## 8. Exploring the reasons behind social homogamy

We constructed several logistic regression models to explain the occupational heterogamy of spouses' parents using the grooms' occupational subsamples (Table 4). The dependent variable was the same as earlier: the heterogamy of the spouses' parents' occupational status was set at 1. The freeholder class was the most crucial class from our standpoint, as noted earlier, because it was the largest and most homogamous class. Thus, we present three models for the freeholder class, but only one model for the tenant class and one for the labour class.

As noted earlier, theoretically four social forces interactively influenced marriage patterns: individual preferences (love), family interests (marriage strategies), group

pressure (local power and social norms) and the structural restrictions placed on the marriage markets (size and division) (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 398). We added to the models individual- and family-level characteristics as well as structural-level variables, the purpose of which was to capture the four forces influencing marriage patterns.

First, we included only the individual-level variables: whether it was a groom's first marriage (AI) (0 = no, 1 = yes), whether it was a bride's first marriage (AII) (0 = no, 1 = yes) and the age difference between the spouses (AIII) (negative values if the bride was older). These variables had a statistically insignificant relationship with the level of heterogamy. However, the results suggests that in the labour class, there were more opportunities to marry a spouse with a higher social status when it was the first marriage and the age difference was greater (i.e. the groom was relatively older). In addition, older brides (AIV) had an increased probability of a heterogamous marriage in all social groups. It was not unusual for a farmer's widow to remarry a male servant of the house or for an elderly widowed master of the house to remarry a young female servant. Thus, remarrying opened up possibilities for social improvement for the children of relatively poor families.

Seemingly, the groom's (AV) or the bride's (AVI) position as an illegitimate child (0 = no, 1 = yes), and the bride's position as a single mother before the wedding (AVII) (0 = no, 1 = yes) had a remarkable influence on a person's status in the marriage markets. However, the subsamples were divided using the grooms' occupations, which complicates the picture. First, the grooms' position as an illegitimate child in the freeholder class decreased the likelihood of his having a spouse with a similar background. On the other hand, among the lower social classes there were no significant effect on heterogeneity. Second, the evidence from the brides is mixed: this was clearly caused by the fact that, in most cases, the illegitimate child or single mother belonged to the labour class, which automatically indicates a heterogamous marriage when considering the first three models. Nevertheless, it is notable that being an illegitimate child or a single mother were related, in most cases, to both upward as well as downward heterogamous marriages.

The purpose of the second model was to capture the structural- and regional-level impacts on heterogamy. When a freeholder groom was born in a more developed area, he was more likely to enter into a heterogamous marriage.<sup>14</sup> However, it is interesting that there was no statistically significant effect when considering the lower social classes. Overall, it seems that the movement of spouses between regions increased considerably the possibilities of them entering into a heterogamous marriage (BII-IV). Nevertheless, the pattern seems to be more mixed in the tenant and labour classes.

Next, we added county-level (BIV-VI) and parish-level variables (BVII-X). Regions with higher emigration rates, a higher share of those who spoke a language other than Finnish and a higher share of poor relief recipients were all associated with considerably more homogamous marriage patterns in the freeholder class. The effects were similar among those in the tenant class, except that emigration had an insignificant effect. Furthermore, parishes with a greater share of Finnish speakers promoted heterogamy in the labour class.

In the tenant class, more casual workers were less likely to marry outside their own class. Furthermore, the freeholders' share of the population was associated with more

homogamous marriage patterns only in the labour class. In addition, only in the tenant class did a longer lifespan promote more heterogamous marriages.

It is good to bear in mind that the models only indicate a possible relationship between individual- and structural-level variables regarding heterogamy and not (necessarily) causal links. There is the possibility of omitted variable bias. In addition, the predictability of the models was quite low, which might indicate that the role of the personal relationship between spouses mattered. In other words, marriage patterns are affected by numerous variables; and unfortunately, these are unknown in many cases.

## 9. Discussion and conclusion

To our knowledge, this is the first study to analyse social heterogamy in Finland during the transition from agrarian society to the early stages of industrialisation, from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. Marriage patterns were examined by comparing the social classes of a spouses' parents, which can be understood as the social origin of the spouses. This study identified strict marriage patterns with respect to heterogamy in the landowning class. There were some indications that heterogamy slightly increased, but on the other hand, those patterns were modest and heterogamy remained considerably lower in the freeholder class compared to other classes. The rate of heterogamy in the freeholder class was only 19.8%, whereas it was 71.1% in the upper classes, 59.7% in the tenant class (crafters and crofters) and 76.5% in the labour class. In addition, only roughly 20–30% of the grooms whose father was a landowner married a woman from one of the lower social classes.

The following individual- and family-level characteristics increased the odds of a heterogamous marriage: remarrying, age difference between the spouses and being an illegitimate child or a single mother. It is evident that in the case of a spouse's death, the widow or the widower with small children faced a strong need to remarry as soon as possible for childcare and economic reasons. Similar mechanisms were seemingly accounted for marriages in which there was a large age difference between the spouses. For the daughter of a freeholder especially, giving birth to a child out of wedlock entailed a social risk of remaining unmarried or else marrying a man from one of the lower social classes. Illegitimate children faced a similar stigma in the marriage markets. These facts match well with the findings presented in previous studies; however, this study showed that in particular, the first marriages of those in the labour class increased the probability of a heterogamous marriage (see Wrigley & Schofield, 1983, p. 166; van Poppel et al., 2001, p. 12; Saarimäki, 2010). Thus, being young and unmarried seemingly followed an opposite logic compared with earlier stigmatised factors.

The early stages of industrialisation and urbanisation began to erode the prevailing traditions. However, the process developed slowly and the impact on heterogamy was minor. Nevertheless, various crises and changing agrarian society had an impact on heterogamy through higher emigration and poor relief recipient rates, which positively correlated with higher levels of homogamy in the later nineteenth century. On the other hand, moving to different regions and the relative share of the population that was Finnish speaking correlated with higher levels of heterogamy, which is an indication of regional and lingual differences in marriage patterns. The increasing distinctions in

society led to a strengthening of one's own social group and precluded finding spouses from different groups (see, e.g. Haavio-Mannila, 1965; Peltonen, 1992).

Social stratification sustained the high rate of homogamy and marriage patterns remained remarkably strict in Finland. However, these results are parallel with the findings from other Scandinavian countries, especially from Norway for the late nineteenth century (Bull, 2005). Moreover, it is notable that in both of these countries, income inequalities were high and increased rapidly in the latter part of the twentieth century: thus, this could be one of the reasons for the high degree of social stratification (Roikonen & Heikkinen, 2018). Also, we argue that one of the main forces favouring homogamy was the overall social decline within agrarian society: it occurred in close connection with the disparity between the amount of available land and the number of people needing land, evident since the early nineteenth century. Thus, the children of farmers became crofters in many cases, and the children of small farmers risked sliding into the class of farm worker. Furthermore, this cumulative process was one of the push factors for migration: this was especially true for immigration from Ostrobothnia to the United States (Kero, 1996; Toivonen, 1963).

In an agrarian society, landowning had a special meaning beyond the values of occupation, source of income or local power holding. The concept 'spirit of the land' was used to refer to landowning and to use of the land as a basic right and the highest purpose in life until the late twentieth century. Thus, belonging to the landowning class had a special meaning, and marrying outside one's own class was discouraged (see Silvasti, 2001).

It is undoubtedly true that family was, and still is, one of the most important social institutions. Especially before the advent of the modern welfare state, the family was the centre of social and economic life. Therefore, marriage was one of the crucial points in life wherein social relations were created and strengthened, or, on the other hand, where the grounds for social decline were established. However, a large part of the social mobility process as well as marriage patterns are still unknown. Thus, further research should be undertaken to explore, for example, the role of wealth and income in social heterogamy.

## Notes

1. The thesis that love did not play any role in partner choice before industrialisation is much disputed (see Goode, 1959). For historical research on homogamy, see van Leeuwen and Maas (2005); see also Ylikangas (1968).
2. Ten Generations data. For more information on the database, see Häkkinen (2013).
3. However, the spouse's possible biological children before marriage have been excluded.
4. The HisKi database includes parish records on marriages and burials (The Genealogical Society of Finland (2017, June 7). *HisKi Database for the Study of Genealogy and Social History*. Retrieved from <http://www.genealogia.fi/hiski>).
5. Finland's Family History Association (FFHA) online archive material, which includes, e.g. communion books and the census records (Finland's Family History Association (2017, June 7). A project for digitising archived materials. Retrieved from [http://www.sukuhistoria.fi/sshy/index\\_eng.html](http://www.sukuhistoria.fi/sshy/index_eng.html)).
6. The incomes of the freeholders are probably underestimated because of the relatively large deduction system (Roikonen & Heikkinen, 2018).
7. When a woman's independent occupational status was available, and she was married, the highest status in the family was marked down. This separation was, however, only possible in very few cases.



8. The term used for estate owners in the record was 'rusthollare'.
9. The term used for tenant farmers in the record was 'torpare'.
10. Ibid., Tables 1 and 27.
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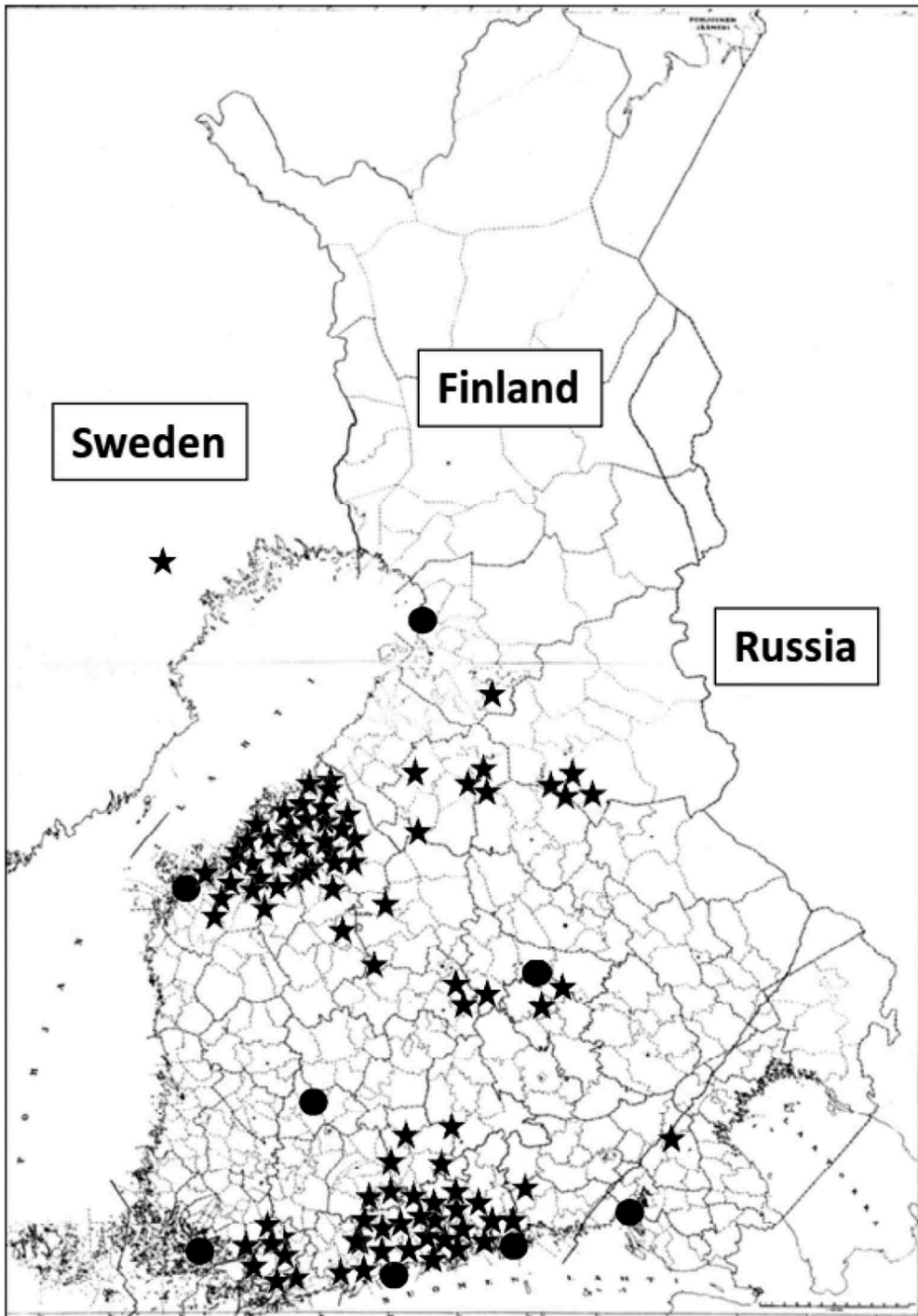
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## Appendix 1. The residential areas of the first generation



Source: Ten Generations data, see text (Map from Jutikkala, [1959](#)). Notes: The stars indicate the residential areas of the first generation. The darkened circles show the main towns in the nineteenth century.